

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 HA-05 IO-13 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /090 W

-----055463 051033Z /10

R 050720Z DEC 77

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 043

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 4205

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, FR, HU, XG, XH

SUBJECT: MARCHAIS VISIT

REF: BUDAPEST 3512

1. SUMMARY: JANOS KADAR'S EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE VIEWS OF  
KAY WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WITH THOSE OF CPSU MET  
WITH ONLY PARTIAL SUCCESS DURING VISIT TO BUDAPEST OF  
GEORGES MARCHAIS. COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT  
CONCLUSION OF VISIT COOLER THAN THAT WHICH WAS ISSUED DURING  
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EARLIER BERLINGUER VISIT, WHICH PROBABLY REFLECTS RELATIVE  
LOWER DEGREE OF COMMONALITY BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES.  
NOWWITHSTANDING FOREGOING, PCF AND HSWP HAVE MADE  
CLEAR AFFIRMATION OF THEIR DEDICATION TO INDEPENDENCE  
AND EQUALITY OF EACH COMMUNIST PARTY AND TO EACH  
PARTY'S RIGHT TO PURSUE ITS WON PATH IN STRUGGLE TO  
ACHIEVE SOCIALISM. END SUMMARY.

2. FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCF) LEADER GEORGES MARCHAIS WAS ACCOMPANIED ON HIS BRIEF NOV 24-27 TRIP TO HUNGARY BY PCF FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERT AND POLITBURO MEMBER JEAN KANAPA. MARCHAIS AND KANAPA MET WITH COUNTERIKRTS: HSWP FIRST SECRETARY KADAR AND FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTS ANDRAS GYENES, SECRETARY OF HSWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AND JANOS BEREZ, HEAD OF HSWP FOREIGN POLICY DEPARTMENT, BOTH JOINTLY AND SEPARATELY. KADAR HOSTED A LUNCHEON ON DAY OF DEPARTURE BUT OTHERWISE VISITORS CONFINED THEMSELVES TO BUSINESS MEETINGS, SIGHTSEEING IN BUDAPEST, AND ATTENDANCE AT A COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE SOCIAL FUNCTION.

3. IN ANALYZING COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER KADAR-MARCHAIS TALKS (FBIS 281204Z NOV UUL, ONE PERCEIVES HEAVY CONTRAST WITH MORE CORDIAL AND LENGTHIER COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER EARLY OCTOBER BERLINGUER VISIT (SEE REFTEL). BERLINGUER DISUCSSIONS WERE CHARACTERIZED AS "CORDIAL AND COMRADELY" WHILE MARCHAIS DISCUSSIONS AS FRANK AND FRIENDLY. IN FIRST CASE, REFERENCE WAS MADE TO ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI)-HSWP MUTUAL SOLIDARITY AND UNDERATANDING; IN LATTER CASE TO FACT THAT PCF-HSWP NEGOTIATIONS WERE "IMBUED WITH THE DESIRE TO HONOR EACH OTHER'S OPINIONS AND THE POLITICAL LINE INDEPENDENTLY ELABORATED."  
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4. IN AN INTERVIEW FOR HUNGARIAN TV, MARCHAIS POLITELY CONFIRMED DIFFERENCES OF VIEW EXIST BETWEEN HIMSELF AND KADAR. HE SAID THAT THEY HAD IDENTICAL VIEWS WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND DETENTE. HOWEVER, WITH RESPECT TO VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, MARCHAIS SAID THESE WERE ONLY "ESSENTIALLY" IDENTICAL. HE QUALIFIED HIS COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY BY SAYING THAT IN MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST (THAT IS NOT IN ALL MATTERS) WE HAVE TO ADOPT THE STAND OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

5. THE KADAR-BERLINGUER COMMUNIQUE EXPRESSED THE SOLIDARITY OF HUNGARIAN COMMUNISTS WITH PCI EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A DEMOCRATIC RENAISSANCE IN ITALY AND INDIRECTLY SUPPORTED PCI'S EFFORT TO ENTER A BROAD GOVERNMENT COALITION. IN CONTRAST, THERE IS NO MENTION OF HUNGARIAN SUPPORT FOR THE PCF'S DOMESTIC EFFORTS IN THE KADAR-MARCHAIS COMMUNIQUE. SIMILARLY, WHILE BERLINGUER-KADAR VOICED APPRECIATION FOR LEVEL OF ITALIAN-HUNGARIAN STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS, MARCHAIS-

KADAR MADE NO MENTION OF FRENCH-HUNGARIAN STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
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R 050720Z DEC 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 044  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
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AMEMBASSY LONDO  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 10. TO READ 9.)

6. IN ONE WAY, THE MARCHAIS-KADAR COMMUNIQUE WAS LIKE BERLINGUER-KADAR ONE. MARCHAIS AND KADAR STATED THAT EACH COMMUNIST PARTY WAS INDEPENDENT AND EQUAL AND HAD AN "INALIENABLE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE PATH FOR DEVELOPING ITS COUNTRY AND TO DETERMINE THE MOST SUITABLE MEANS AND FORMS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM."

7. IN A COLUMN IN PARTY NEWSPAPER, NEPSZABADSAG, BELOW TEXT OF MARCHAIS-KADAR COMMUNIQUE, A SENIOR FOREIGN  
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POLICY EDITOR, FERENC VARNAI, MADE SEVERAL COMMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE MARCHAIS VISIT WHICH TOUCH ON SOME OF THE THEMES WHICH MIGHT NORMALLY HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN COMMUNIQUE ITSELF. FIRST, VARNAI EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THE DOMESTIC STRUGGLE BEING WAGED BY THE PCF, INCLUDING ITS EFFORTS TO RENDER LEFTIST UNITY MORE EFFECTIVE. SECOND, HE COMMENTED THAT HUNGARY'S FRENCH COMRADES IN THEIR TALKS HERE UNDERLINED THE SPECIAL ROLE BEING PLAYED BY THE SOVIET UNION FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE. THIRD, HE IMPLIED THE NEED FOR GREATER INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY, A PRINCIPLE THE HUNGARIANS BELIEVE WAS AGREED UPON AT THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. VARNAI SAID THAT ISSUES OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY HAD COME UP IN PCF-HSWP DISCUSSIONS AND WERE AFFIRMED BY BERLIN CONGRESS. HE CONTINUED: DURING THE HSWP-PCF DELIBERATIONS IT WAS EMPHASIZED THAT THE MUTUAL SOLIDARITY OF EQUAL PARTIES PRESUPPOSES REGULAR AND RESPONSIBLE NEGOTIATIONS AND CONSOLIDATION OF MUTUAL TRUST IN DEVELOPING INTERPARTY RELATIONS.

8. COMMENT. MARCHAIS AND KADAR SEEM TO HAVE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY IN AGREEING ON THE MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. EMBASSY CONCLUDES THAT THIS DIFFICULTY RESULTED IN THE RELATIVELY COOL COMMUNIQUE. WE BELIEVE THAT KADAR ASKED MARCHAIS TO HAVE THE PCF CEASE CRITICIZING THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO RECOGNIZING THE VALUES AND EXPERIENCES OF EXISTING SOCIALIST. IF THIS WERE TRUE IT WOULD ALSO EXPLAIN THE LACK OF A DIRECT REFERENCE TO THE BERLIN CONGRESS IN THE COMMUNIQUE, FOR HUNGARIANS MAINTAIN THAT IN BERLIN THE DUTY

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OF INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY WAS GIVEN EQUAL WEIGHT WITH THE RIGHT OF EACH COMMUNIST PARTY TO EQUALITY AND INDEPENDENCE. WE DEFER TO EMBASSY PARIS FOR A MORE DEFINITIVE JUDGMENT, BUT WE SUSPECT THAT MARCHAIS DID NOT SEEK KADAR'S SUPPORT IN COMMUNIQUE FOR HIS INTERNAL POLICIES IN FRANCE. AT SAME TIME, KADAR, ESPECIALLY IN AFTERMATH OF FRIENDLY VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER BARRE, WAS PROBABLY NO MORE EAGER TO COME OUT SO VISIBLY BEHIND PCF'S DOMESTIC EFFORTS. WITH RESPECT TO STATE-TO-STATE RELATIONS, WE SUSPECT MARCHAIS WAS NOT ABOUT TO ENDORSE PROGRESS IN HUNGA-

RIAN-FRENCH RELATIONS WHEN HE IS HOPEFUL OF HELPING  
UNSEAT CURRENT FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN NEAR FUTURE.

9. HSWP RELATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN AS CLOSE HISTORI-  
CALLY AS PCI-HSWP RELATIONS. THUS, IT IS PERHAPS  
NATURAL THAT KADAR AND MARCHAIS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO  
REACH THE SAME LEVEL OF AGREEMENT AS KADAR AND  
BERLINGUER. ASIDE FROM THIS HISTORICAL FACTOR, HOW-  
EVER, DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ARE PROBABLY IMPORTANT  
REASONS WHY KADAR HAS APPARENTLY HAD LESS SUCCESS IN  
CONVINCING MARCHAIS OF THE NEED TO FIND GREATER COMMON  
GROUND BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE AND  
THOSE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

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## Message Attributes

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